

Young India

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Notes

From his Solitary Cell

Here is a titbit from C. Raigopalachari from Vellore Jail:

"I guess you have not started for Bardoli and Anand yet. I am allowed to write one letter a month and to receive similarly one letter a month, and am completely shut out from all politics, news and newspapers. What an ideal condition which I know you are envying !

'The greatest common measure between thoughts, words and what the jail authorities would allow and what I need write to you at all, is but little.

"It took me till now to get rid of the boils. I am now quite free from the trouble. It must horrify you to learn that I willingly underwent five injections of vaccine for these boils.

⁴My asthma persists, though by keeping my stomach light I hold the upper hand over the enemy. I have gone down from 104 to 98 lbs. but that does not matter.

"Your eyes would flow with delight if you saw me here in my solitary cell spinning—spinning not as a task imposed by a tyrant faddist, but with pleasure. Between spinning and beautiful Ramayana I have been spending practically the whole of the time left me by the agony of eating, washing of dishes etc. The spinning wheel I have is a real beauty. It is a live companion and younger brother in my cell.

"This Ashram is very much less congested than yours at Sabarmati and I wish more people understood the real advantages of this retirement and discipline"

This is a curious Government. The same law is supposed to reign in the country and yet what is a crime in Bengal is not a crime in Madras. And the treatment in a Madras jail is not the same as in a U. P. jail. George Joseph in the Agra jail has all the comforts and privileges including newspapers, Rajgopalachari in Vellore jail must live in solitude and have no newspapers. Rajgopalachari does not mind the deprivation of newspapers. I know that I would esteem it a privilege to be without any, but difference in treatment is obvious. Rajgopalachari's loss of flesh is a more serious matter. This, of course, may not be due to want of nourishing food but if the solitary cell is anything like I know, it must be almost death to an asthmatic patient. When you are locked up in a cell you are in a box with a few holes for just enough ventilation to keep you alive. There is little light and no cross ventilation. The air in a short time becomes thick and foul with your own exhalation. My friends told me that Mr. Uga should have, in the fresh air and night.

From Delhi Jail

Mr. Asaf Ali writes a descriptive letter from the Delhi jail. I copy from it extracts of public interest;

"It is a matter of the profoundest satisfaction to me that I am privileged to address you from this place. Some of my friends besought me to postpone the event which brought me here until my health had improved—in fact Dr. Ansari had made arrangements to perform the first operation about the time I walked into the prison—but I refused to be cheated of my reward. And it is a matter of no little surprise to me that my health has appreciably improved since my incarceration. My chronic complaints continue to trouble me, but their aggressiveness has apparently abated.

"It will interest you to know that the place, which has served the present government as a gaol, where crime and innocence, moral depravity and honesty of purpose alike inhale the miasmic vapours of callousness, inhumanity and moral degradation to-day, was once upon a time the glorious palace of Nawab Asaf Khan a name of considerable importance in the days of the Great Moghal.

"We are all perfectly happy and full of hopes. The discomforts of prison life will be throughout our lives the most cherished of our memories like the scars of warriors. We have found even within the prison walls strange yearnings in Indian hearts. As for the treatment we receive here, all I desire to say is that I sincerely hope that it will be granted us to teach our opponents the value of clean fighting and respecting an honest adversary. They signified their

willingness to accord Dr. Rahman, Sheikh Muhammad Taqi and myself 'special treatment' in recognition of our 'education and status.' We declined to avail ourselves of any concessions because we held them to be farcical so long as no difference of treatment is observed between ordinary criminals and our fellow prisoners (volunteers) and above all so long as there continued to exist the difference of treatment between Europeans and Indians. In spite of this we three have been separated from our friends.

Kindly remember me to Pandit Motilalji and Jawahar if you write to them as I cannot and please give my love to my Akka, I mean Mrs. Sarojini Naidu."

The reader will remember that civil disobedience in Delhi was started by Mr. Asif Ali and fifty two other volunteers.

Sherwani Disbarred

The Allahabad High Court has not enhanced its prestige by disbarring Mr. Sherwani who had disbarred himself long before the court took action. It is clear that some one must have instigated the court to take action. Whoever did so has ill-served the High Court of Allahabad. The proceedings against Mr. Sherwani cannot frighten a single lawyer. They must have made some ashamed of being practitioners in a court which punishes a man for his political creed. The court in my opinion was bound to take public notice of the fact of non-co-operation and therefore of the fact that Mr. Sherwani was precluded by his creed from offering any defence in the lower court.

Lalaji's rearrest

The Punjab Government could not do even a simple act of penitence gracefully. They were advised that the judge who convicted Lalaji and his companions did not know the law. They were therefore to release them. Instead of

on the performance Lalaji was rearrested immediately after his discharge. By this action the Punjab Government have shown themselves more vindictive than penitent. The release they could not help nor could they help their pettiness. They did not want Lalaji to be free for a single moment and therefore they rearrested him. Although an undertrial prisoner, his people including his son are not allowed to see him. They knew that Lalaji would not escape 'justice' if they served on him a summons. But such a natural and courteous step was too simple for the Punjab Government. I congratulate Lalaji on his rearrest and sympathise with Pandit Santanam, Mali's Lalkhan and Dr. Gopichand for their premature discharge.

Pension or Deferred Pay

I have now procured paragraph 351 of Section 1, Chapter 15 of General Rules regarding ordinary pensions, under which Mr. Joshi of Dharwad has been deprived of his pension. The rule reads as follows:-

"Future good conduct is an implied condition of every grant of a pension. The Local Government, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State in Council reserve to themselves the right of withholding or withdrawing a pension or any part of it, if the pensioner be convicted of serious crime or be guilty of grave misconduct.

The decision of the Secretary of State in Council on any question of withholding or withdrawing the whole or any part of a pension under this Regulation shall be final and conclusive."

To a layman, it is one and the same thing whether you call it pension or deferred pay or anything else. It cannot be given to a servant who has proved faithless in the discharge of his duty or who, on the termination of active service, by

his future conduct proves un-servicing. A servant on pension has, perhaps, need to be more careful about his conduct than a servant in active service for the simple reason, that whilst on duty he is under watch, off duty he is on trust. Judged by this standard and considered as a public servant, Mr. Joshi has not only done nothing reprehensible but has done what any honourable man will do, that is to say, in the evening of his life put such talents as he has unreservedly at the disposal of the public, although in law he is entitled to pass his time in rest and retirement. A Government responsive to public opinion cannot be treated as different from the public. The interest of the latter must be the paramount consideration of the former; therefore, if Mr. Joshi is now, in the light of existing facts, throwing in his lot with the public he is as much serving the Government as the country. If Sir Michael belonged to the same public service and was bound by the same code of honour as Mr. Joshi or Maulana Shaukat Ali, it is Sir Michael O'Dwyer who stands condemned out of his own mouth and who, in terms of the regulation I have quoted, ought to be deprived of the pension of which by constant and venomous vilification of his paymasters he is proving himself totally unworthy. That Sir Michael may really believe what he says and may honestly hold the opinion that educated Indians are idiots or traitors to their country and that the uneducated masses deserve to be treated no better than the cattle, is beside the point. God alone knows a man's motive. But man can only judge another by his acts. And just as non-co-operators are very properly and rigidly judged not by their motive as it is set forth in their pledge or declared from a thousand platforms, but by their acts and those of their associates, so also must public servants on pension or otherwise be judged by what they do and not by what they think or say they think.

The Ali Brothers

I reproduce the following telegram received from Karachi by post because it would not be sent by the authorities:-

"Moulana Mohammad Ali reduced 25 lbs. in jail. Light at night not permitted to him though recommended by Magistrate and Medical Officer. Superintendent opposed to allowing this.

"Medical Officer recommended groundnuts or extract of cheese by way of food for Moulana Mohammad Ali on account of diabetes. Superintendent not disposed but after all provided groundnuts worth one anna per day and on Moulana's insistence raised it to two annas. This serves as his morning meal.

"Deviating from usual treatment Moulana Shaukat Ali, Doctor Kitchlu, Moulvi Nisar Ahmad, Pir Gulam Majdid were asked on Saturday the 28th to submit to search of their person a practice commonly followed in jail in case of convicts. This consists in making the prisoners absolutely naked with the exception of a *lanjoti* made loose. The prisoners in this condition are asked to raise hands and open their mouths as though to show if there was anything hidden anywhere. This humiliation Moulana Shaukat Ali and his companions were saved so far. On Saturday 28th on being asked to submit to this they refused. On Monday the 30th their person was forcibly searched and as punishment for refusing voluntarily to submit to this indignity humiliation the forenamed Leaders have been confined to solitary cells for one month. In solitary cells prisoners are allowed insufficient bedding and that at night alone. Moulana Shaukat Ali and his companions thus forced to say their prayers on uncleaned ground contrary to their religious susceptibilities. Moulvi Nisar Ahmad was searched while offering his prayers.

Moulana Mohammad Ali protests and demands like treatment.

"The leaders in jail ready to obey all Jail Rules except those that offend against their Religion or against their sense of honour and dignity as Indians or human beings.

"The jail authorities were up to the last moment asked by the leaders to refer the matter to Government but they refused to wait".

It is evident that instructions have gone forth that the policy of wise discretion is to give place to the policy of cast iron rigidity of enforcement of prison rules. Imagine Maulana Shaukat Ali or any of the high-spirited prisoners standing almost naked before the Jailor and in the presence of one another and submitting to what to them must be a most humiliating examination. I can understand the necessity and utility of such examination of confirmed criminals for whom alone the ordinary prison regulations are framed, but it is nothing short of lunacy to enforce obedience to such regulations on the part of men who apart from their political agitation have been regarded as orderly citizens and in some cases even as distinguished public men. To enforce some of the present regulations in respect of such prisoners is hopelessly to ignore the reality and to court trouble. Ordinary discipline must be exacted from the best of men when they happen to be in prison, more so when they court imprisonment. Discomfort of jail life they must expect and cannot grumble at. Respect for the jail officials must be exacted from them if they will not give it voluntarily and gracefully. But discipline must not take the form of humiliation. Discomfort must not be torture, and respect must not take the form of crawling on one's belly. And therefore, on pain of being put in irons, in solitary confinement or of being shot, non-co-operating prisoner must decline even in the name of discipline to stand naked before the jailor, must decline in the name of discomfort to wear stinking clothes or to eat food that is unclean or indigestible and must similarly decline even in the name of respect to open out their palms or to sit in a crouching position or to shout '*Sarkar Ek Hai*' or '*Sarkar Salam*' when a jail official is passing. And if the Government is now intent upon putting us through the fire in the jails and subject us to physical pains in order to bend us, we must respectfully decline to be humiliated and must fall back upon God to give us strength to withstand studied humiliation and to suffer physical tortures instead. Let the proud Brothers and their comrades purify the Karachi Jail. Let the proud Sindhi Professor Kripalani sanctify the Benares prison, for I understand that Professor Kripalani and his pupils who are undergoing imprisonment in Benares have found it impossible to countenance the unutterable humiliations that those non-co-operators who have been brought to the Benares Jail have been subjected to. It passes comprehension that in the United Provinces where the treatment of political prisoners is supposed to be ideal, whilst it is certainly all that could be desired in Agra, and Lucknow, that in Benares and elsewhere it should be otherwise. Does it mean that the local officials are out of control and disregard orders from headquarters and have become a law unto themselves? Let the public imagine from these incidents what untold sufferings the criminals must be undergoing in the jails of India. I am not inclined to believe that political prisoners are alone specially singled out for that treatment. On the contrary

I believe that the real criminals are much worse treated for they are easily cowed down in jail, and jailors and warders being almost irresponsible, become despotic and subject criminals to heartless treatment. We who have in our ignorance or selfishness hitherto supported a system of Government under which a microscopic minority has brought under subjection millions of human beings will have to answer before our Maker for many a crime against humanity committed nominally in the name of law and order, but really in the interest of this minority—crimes that have never seen the light of day and of which we could not have even heard but for the immolation of non-co-operators.

In the face of the humiliation sought to be imposed upon the prisoners, it seems petty to have to criticise the meanness of authorities in Karachi in withholding from Maulana Mahomed Ali even the diet prescribed by the jail doctor and necessitated by the disease which the Maulana is suffering from. I am really hoping that the information about the refusal to supply the Maulana with cheese or enough ground-nuts is not correct, and that there is a reasonable explanation for it.

But be the treatment what it may, the course before those who are not in prison is clear. We must not be irritated into taking a false or a hasty step. We are dealing with a system that is rotten to the core and that has debased humanity whether English or Indian. We are really dealing with a disease. I refuse to think that either Englishmen or Indians are fiends by deliberation. On the contrary, I am confident that they do not know what they are doing. It is certain that they do not think that they are doing anything wrong and it is highly probable that many of them even consider that terrorism is a part of humane treatment in given circumstances, even as many of our friends here do things in order to secure which friends tried to go in to see him and that Mr. Uppal

Since writing the foregoing, the ~~re-~~ acquisition news that the brothers have refused to be voluntarily searched, that search was forcibly made, that they were punished in cells (meaning, I presume, solitary confinement) and that men in charge were behaving in an ungentlemanly manner. I should be extremely sorry to find all this to be true. There was reason to believe that the Government attitude towards known public men in the prisons would be perfectly gentlemanly and that they would not be subjected to any indignities. If the reported ill-treatment of the Ali Brothers proves to be true, the Government will have themselves to thank if the agitation against them reaches white heat.

It is evident that God wants non-co-operators to be tried through and through. I know that the Brothers are brave enough to stand the fiery ordeal and come out scatheless. All the Karachi prisoners are picked men, well able to take care of themselves. The public will nevertheless feel keenly the indignities that are being heaped upon the Brothers, Dr. Kichlew, Pir Gulam Mujadid and their companions. Notwithstanding all this senseless irritation and provocation we must be self-restrained. Our final salvation lies in the strictest adherence to our pledge. If we feel keenly let us be still more non-violent, not less so; let us further concentrate on civil disobedience, let us lose no time in fulfilling the conditions necessary for civil disobedience. Let Hindus, Mussalmans and other races come still closer, let us rid ourselves of the remnants of foreign cloth still in our possession, let us bestir ourselves to manufacture more handspun *khadi*. Our progress depends upon calmly fulfilling the programme mapped out by ourselves and not

wasting a single minute in idle fretting and fuming. Let us not worry about the ill-treatment of those who are in jail. The Government have made no terms with us as to treatment. We have unconditionally surrendered our bodies to them even to be hacked to pieces without a quiver if God will give us the strength. We must not lose temper on any account.

False charges

In their feverish anxiety to support the policy of repression, the officials in charge of the defence of that policy have not hesitated to make use of statements that cannot be supported. Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb writes to me saying that he has never contemplated, approved of or incited to violence after he entered into the national compact to observe the strictest non-violence in connection with the movement of non-co-operation. He says that he has both preached and practised it fully and conscientiously. The unregistered *Independent* says:—

Maulana Abdul Bari writing in the daily *Hamian* contradicts the statement made by Sir William Vincent in the course of the Censure Debate that he (the Maulana) was a votary of violence. He denies having made any speech during the last four months. In his latest written address read before a meeting of the Muslims, he strongly advocated non-violent non-co-operation as the only means open to the Indian Muslims for the redress of the Khilafat wrong. He has not lost hope, he says, in the non-violent Congress and Khilafat programme in the end forcing the hands of the British Government to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and enabling India to remain as a free partner of the British Commonwealth of self-governing nations.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru writes as follows about the charge brought against him:

"Sir Ludovic Porter, Finance member of the Government of the United Provinces, reported to the Government that I had said that the British Government were not fit to rule India."

I allude to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. His final effort was a speech somewhere in the west of the provinces in which he quoted word by word the sedition section, i. e. the promotion of disaffection against the Government as bylaw established, and the section which deals with promoting hatred between classes of his Majesty's subjects, and he said that the object of his life was to carry out this promotion of sedition and disaffection."

"This is incorrect. On no occasion and in no speech have I quoted the sedition section or any other section of the Penal Code word by word or in any other manner. I do not carry about a copy of the Indian Penal Code with me and I have not thought it worth while to learn any of its sections by heart. What I have stated however on more than one occasion is that I considered it my business, as it was the business of every Indian, to promote disaffection against the present system of government in India. And I was thus continually sinning against section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code. I have never, I trust, said anything which might lead people to think that I desire to promote 'hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects.' I have endeavoured to the best of my ability, whenever an occasion offered itself, to do the very reverse of this. And indeed if it were otherwise I would be a bad non-co-operator and utterly unworthy of being a humble follower of the great leader whose mission it is to demonstrate anew to the world the invincible might of love and truth"

It never occurred to these officials, who have labelled the character of two honourable public men that they have

preached or approved of violence, the charges should be fully proved against them by incontestable evidence. Will Sir William Vincent apologise to Maulana Bari and Sir Ludovic Porter to Pandit Jawaharlal?

A Comedy of errors

Not knowing any other Lala Shyam Lal but of Rohtak I have committed a bad blunder and have paid premature compliments to Lala Shyam Lal of Rohtak instead of his namesake who is also a Vakil but of Hissar. I apologise to Lala Shyam Lal of Hissar and accept of him what Lala Shyam Lal says in his letter that all the flattering remarks I have made about him apply to the Hissar friend 'with greater force'. Lala Shyam Lal of Rohtak adds, 'His example is inspiring. Soon after his arrest, his noble wife has thrown herself into the work and this has given great impetus to the Congress activity in the Hissar District.'

Caution about Civil Disobedience

Writing of his own District Lala Shyam Lal says, "The District Magistrate here does not believe in making arrests unless there is apprehension of a breach of the peace. The result is that our volunteers are having their own way. No foreign cloth is being imported. No liquor contract has been sold." Lala Shyam Lal then inquires whether in the districts where no arrests are made people should go out of their way to court arrest. I thought that I had made the position absolutely clear in previous issues. Whilst we may do nothing to avoid arrest in the ordinary course of our duty, we must not go outside our beat in order to compel arrest. That would be either aggressive civil disobedience or criminal disobedience. The latter is out of question. The former i. e. aggressive civil disobedience is a right to be exercised when necessary and when we are thoroughly ready, and is also a duty we must discharge if the circumstances require the performance of it. But aggressive civil disobedience whether mass or individual is a most dangerous weapon though also most effective among all the peaceful weapons at our disposal. I am myself satisfied that the country as a whole is not ready for this form of self-assertion. We have to go through much greater and stricter discipline. We have to understand the exact, I was almost going to say, the spiritual value of obedience to laws and discipline which may be irksome and even repugnant to us. Assertive civil disobedience is a right that accrues to us only after severe *tapasya* through which we have not yet gone. Any premature resort to assertive civil disobedience therefore may precipitate a crisis we neither anticipate nor want, and which we must avoid by every means we can think of. The least therefore that we must do is to await the result of the experiment I personally wish to conduct. It is a new thing and surely simple prudence requires us to watch that experiment. Indeed if aggressive civil disobedience whether mass or individual is attempted in other parts of India, it is likely to embarrass me and damage the country's cause. I invite the attention of all non-co-operators to the resolution of the Working Committee which now makes it incumbent upon all the Congress organisations to refrain from aggressive civil disobedience except with my express consent and so far as I can see the only exception I am likely to make will be in favour of a group of 100 villages in Andhradesha. But even there I have informed St. Konda Venkatapayya that if it is at all possible for him to avoid taking the offensive I would appreciate it and that he would resort to it only if he found that

retracing would be demoralising and if humanly speaking he was certain of non-violence being observed throughout Andhradesha and also certain that the other conditions laid down by the Congress were strictly fulfilled. I have a suspicion that in many parts of India the condition about the hand-spun *khadi* is not being strictly carried out and that we are not yet everywhere cured of the disease of untouchability. In my opinion the ability to go to jail is of far less consequence than ability and the readiness to observe in their fulness the conditions about Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Parsi-Christian unity, about untouchability and handspun *khadi*. Without a due fulfilment of these conditions, we shall find that all our going to jail is bravado and so much wasted effort. Self-purification is the main consideration in seeking the prison. Embarrassment of the Government is a secondary consideration. It is my unalterable conviction that even though the Government may not feel embarrassed in any way whatsoever by the incarceration or even execution of an innocent, unknown but a purified person, such incarceration will be the end of that Government. Even a single lamp dispels the deepest darkness. Non-co-operation is not allopathic treatment, it is homopathic. The patient does not taste the drops given to him. He is sometimes even incredulous, but if the homopaths are to be trusted, the tasteless drops or the tiny pills of homopathy are far more potent than ounce doses or choking pills of allopathy. I assure the reader that the effect of purifying non-co-operation is more certain than the effect of homopathic medicine. I do wish, therefore, that everywhere non-co-operators will insist upon due fulfilment of all the conditions of civil disobedience. One may be a lawyer, title-holder, even a councillor and yet properly eligible for civil disobedience if he is sincerely non-violent in thought, word and deed, wears handspun *khadi* as a sacred duty, shuns untouchability as an intolerable evil and believes in the unity of all races and classes of India, as for all time essential for the well-being and the attainment, as also retention, of Swaraj.

Aggressive vs Defensive

It is now necessary to understand the exact distinction between aggressive civil disobedience and defensive. Aggressive, assertive or offensive civil disobedience is non-violent, wilful disobedience of laws of the state whose breach does not involve moral turpitude and which is undertaken as a symbol of revolt against the state. Thus disregard of laws relating to revenue or regulation of personal conduct for the convenience of the state, although such laws in themselves inflict no hardship and do not require to be altered, would be assertive, aggressive or offensive civil disobedience.

Defensive civil disobedience, on the other hand, is involuntary or reluctant non-violent disobedience of such laws as are in themselves bad and obedience to which would be inconsistent with one's self-respect or human dignity. Thus formation of volunteer corps for peaceful purposes, holding of public meetings for like purposes, publication of articles not contemplating or inciting to violence in spite of prohibitory orders, is defensive civil disobedience. And so is conducting of peaceful picketing undertakes with a view to warn people from things or institutions picketed in spite of orders to the contrary. The fulfilment of the conditions mentioned above is as necessary for defensive civil disobedience as for offensive civil disobedience.

A well-deserved snub

Mr. P. V. Hanmantrao of Tanjore is reported to have apologised and asked the Madras Government for discharge.

The latter have very properly asked for security on the ground that a non-co-operator has betrayed the trust reposed in him. The Madras Government say that Mr. Subramania Siva, a prisoner who was ailing and who applied for his discharge, undertook not to take part in politics for some time and has now turned round and denies having apologised. Mr. Subramania Siva is a well-known public worker. I hope he will clear himself by making a full statement and if he apologised in a weak moment I hope he will have like Mr. Yakob Hassan the courage of making a manly confession. Every body knows that he is suffering from a fell disease and the public will certainly overlook his weakness if he apologised in the circumstance. He must also keep his promise, if he made it, of not taking part in politics for one year. Non-co-operators cannot afford to be weak, they cannot hide their weakness. Above all they must be scrupulously honest and must rigidly perform all their promises even though they might have been made in a weak moment, unless their performance involves any immorality.

Among Christian Circles

The talk, I hear, is going the round among Christian circles that I have said in private conversation that had India been equipped for the use of arms, I would certainly have resorted to and advised the use of arms. I had fondly hoped that such a thing could never have been said and believed of me in India. I assure my Christian and other readers that I have never made any such statement to any person whatsoever. On the contrary, it has been my belief and practice for over forty years deliberately to practise the doctrine of non-resistance to evil, not to retaliate. There are more instances than one in my public life when with the ability to retaliate I have refrained from doing so. I have said to my friends that I have never seen a man who has not been taught that doctrine. I read it in the teaching of all the greatest teachers of the world, Zoroaster, Mahavir, Daniel, Jesus, Mahomed, Nanak and a host of others. Indeed, I am not sure that we do justice to Moses when we impute to him the doctrine of retaliation in the sense that he made it obligatory on his followers to exact tooth for a tooth. It may be my wish that is father to the thought. But I do think that in an age when people were unrestrained in their appetite for the enemy's blood, Moses restricted retaliation to equal measure and no more. But I must not lead the reader into religious discussion. Whilst, however, non-violence is now, has ever been, and I pray to God, it ever may be my final creed for all occasions, it is true that there are thousands in the ranks of non-co-operation with whom non-violence is an expedient or a policy to which they are not committed for all time and all circumstances. They believe that for India as she is constituted, there is no method but that of non-violence for regaining her freedom. And this they believe not merely because she has no arms or training in them but also because with her divers creeds and races there is nothing for her but constant intestine strife, if her children began the habit of invoking the God of war for every occasion. The best of us are beginning to see more in the doctrine of non-violence than when we first approached it.

In this connection my attention has also been drawn to a paragraph in the *Dnyanodaya* Sadhu Sundarsingh, it is there stated, 'made quite plain his profound disapproval of Mr. Gandhi's methods telling him in so many words that they can lead India to nothing but ruin and useless suffering.' I am sorry that the Sadhu's name has been thus dragged into the controversy. But now that it has been, in justice to the

Sadhu and the cause, I must say that so far as my recollection goes, not only did he not disapprove of my methods in 'so many words' but he entirely approved of them and agreed that India had no other choice. We had the closest communion. The Sadhu came purposely to understand some things about which he had no first-hand knowledge. He did not know, for instance, what the implications of the Hindu Muslim friendship were and where the minorities stood and whether the movement could remain non-violent to the end. We had long discussions over all these and other matters and he certainly left on me the impression that for a religious man there was no course left open. The greatest difficulty undoubtedly is about the masses keeping non-violent to the end. With men nothing may be possible, for God nothing is impossible. I would fain have avoided any reference whatsoever to our conversation. But the friends who have brought the matter to my notice tell me that Sadhu Sundersingh is on the waters and that the paragraph in question is being exploited to wean Indian Christians from the movement. It has to stand or fall on its own merits. No certificate can save it, if its professors betray their trust; no condemnation can injure it permanently if the professors remain true to it to the end. But I felt that I could not withhold from the public what I knew about Sadhu Sundersingh's views.

Is a New Age Dawning ?

Mr. Pearson has answered the question in the affirmative in his article the first part of which I am publishing in this issue. Some may consider the article to be too hopeful. It is however better to be hopeful than despondent. The best proof perhaps of the dawning of a new age is to be found in the wonderful reception that Europe and America have given to the Poet of India, who is the new birth or even for his learning. He was honoured for the new message for which he stands. But it seems almost too much to hope that the dawn will come before the sordid spirit of imperialism, for which Britain seems to stand, is completely broken up. Britain must cease to be an Empire and become truly a Commonwealth or die before the New Age is ushered. She is to-day the greatest menace to the peace of the world if only because some of her best men sincerely believe that she is the one Power that is keeping the peace to-day. They refuse to see that an armed or imposed peace is no peace. Unless therefore somehow or other Britain changes her policy and therefore her heart, a world war more serious even than the Anglo-German must precede the dawn. Let us pray and work for the necessary change of Britain's heart.

Too sacred for publication

There are things one does not like to see published, not because there is anything secret about them but because they are too sacred for publication. Sometimes the published version gives an impression totally different from the spoken word even though the reporting may be ever so accurate. When I call a little child a fiend in perfect good humour or with a frown, it would not do to report me as having called some one a fiend without giving long explanations as to the why and the how. Some such disservice has been done by the manifestly friendly reporter of a conversation and a discourse at Satyagraha Ashram as reported in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 2nd instant. I dislike such things being reported. In a swift conversation there are many things understood. An accurate

report of such a conversation is impossible without copious footnotes. I am for instance reported as having said that Shantiniketan is for material progress and Satyagraha Ashram exists solely for spiritual progress. When the Poet sees this he will either laugh at it if he remembers that I could not possibly say or mean any such thing about Shantiniketan, or he will be angry and despondent that even I should be so hopelessly ignorant and inartistic as not to see the spirituality of Shantiniketan. The Poet, I feel sure, is not likely to do me the injustice of thinking me capable of holding the belief imputed to me. I could say to the Poet, as indeed I have done, that Shantiniketan lacks discipline. He had laughed over it and even endorsed my criticism and justified it saying he was a Poet and Shantiniketan was for his amusement. He could only sing and make others sing. I was free to introduce all the discipline I liked but he was only a Poet. The reader must know that I have lived at Shantiniketan for more than once. I am permitted to regard it as a home of retreat. My boys have had shelter there and at the Gurukula when I was away in England. My conversation with the Hindi teacher was on the basis that both he and I were lovers of Shantiniketan. How can Shantiniketan be otherwise than spiritual when the author of pure spiritual poetry is the dominating spirit there? I am not so dull as to think that a place where Devendranath Tagore lived could be devoid of spirituality. The readers of *Young India* are aware that I receive spiritual draughts from Shantiniketan from time to time sent by Badadada who is incessantly watching over me and praying for the success of my mission. I hasten to inform the reader that I regard many professors and teachers of Shantiniketan as highly spiritual and good men whose association I have valued as a privilege. I must further inform the reader that I consider Bengal to be the most spiritual among our provinces. The whole of my conversation which is unfortunately reported was carried on in a humorous strain. I have often claimed among lovers of Shantiniketan greater spirituality for Satyagraha Ashram than Shantiniketan. But such competition and claim must not be interpreted into an assumption of superiority. I am most desirous to keep Satyagraha Ashram veiled from the public. We are there a band of humble unlettered workers knowing our own failings, trying to understand them still further and undoubtedly intent upon finding the truth and wanting to live and die for it. Comparisons between kindred but not identical institutions must never be made. But if a comparison must be made, in spite of the early rising and the discipline of Satyagraha Ashram, I would vote really and sincerely for Shantiniketan as an elder brother. It is older by far in age and I know it is so also in wisdom. But there is that 'but'. The inmates Shantiniketan must beware of the race that the little place in Gujarat is running.

Having said so much of Shantiniketan by way of reparation, I have no time or space left for giving my version of the morning course nor must I attempt it. It came from the very h of my soul. I could not report it myself with the same force. I heard a sister give it in one sentence. It was so true. I wish the unknown friend had never thought of reporting it. The report does not convey the central truth of it.

In Holy Benares

What is going on in Benares is graphically described in the following telegram :—

'Benares District Jail situation growing pathetic. Bannath Kamalapati, Bhagwanias Satyanarayan students Gandhi Vidyalaya volunteers sentenced twentieth six weeks rigorous for distributing notices inciting volunteers' enlistment. Till now treated simple imprisonment. Second instant imposed labour. Refused. Confined solitary cells, basins insanitation. Starving waterless Bhagwandas became senseless. Tongue protruded. Recovered. Kripalaniji, others, even ordinary criminals protest hunger strike since third to-day. Refused interview 300 visitors Armed mounted police unreasonably appeared. Authority ordering charged dis-appointed peacefully returning crowds trampled under horses, struck with *lathis*, canes, chased furlongs. Position anxious.'

In Andhra

The reader will peruse with profit a note prepared by Mr. Narsinha Rao regarding the preparation in Andhra for civil disobedience. I supplement it with the following from Dashabhakta K. Venkatappayya written on the 2nd instant :

"This day Abkari sales of arrack and foreign liquor shops have been held in the Collector's office, Guntur. It having been arranged to send a number of volunteers to preach the bidders not to bid at the sales, the Deputy Magistrate (a Mohammedan gentleman) in charge of the sales issued a notice under Sec 144 C. P. C. prohibiting all non-cooperators from preaching persons not to bid, or gathering of crowds within radius of four furlongs from the office compound where the sales are held. The volunteers, amongst whom there were also ladies, resolved to disobey the order and went in batches of two and began to persuade people not to bid. Hardly had they uttered a few words, when they were arrested and taken away to the sub-jail. Thus two after two went in regular order and were similarly arrested and removed to the sub-jail. Srimati Lakshimibai Amma the wife of Barrister Lakshminarayana and also another lady were both arrested and led to the sub-jail under police custody. But after being taken some distance, they were suddenly released. Twenty volunteers have been arrested and when the last batch appeared on the scene, the Magistrate got up from his seat and declaring the sales closed left the place.

"At Nellore, notices were served under sec. 108 Cr. P. C. on the President and secretary and also another worker. The last was convicted and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. The case against the President and the secretary has been adjourned to 4th instant. The secretary is a very influential man of *relly* community which is the main part of the population in the Nellore district. The Government seem to have realised that his arrest and conviction would lead to a complex situation and it is said they propose to withdraw the case against them for the present.

"The District magistrate (Guntur) appears to have issued a circular to all the magistrates in the district, that preaching non-payment of taxes amounts to "sedition." This is indeed curious; more curious things will undoubtedly happen. It is said that the additional district magistrate is thinking of introducing corporal punishment (of whipping) in some cases against the non-cooperators. I expect more serious developments in the district of Guntur shortly but I hope the people will behave creditably in spite of such developments."

In Poona

Mr. N. C. Kelkar and his courageous band are making headway. The Government will not imprison them. They

have now imposed a fine of Rs. 50/- on Mr. Kelkar for picketing. This of course he has refused to pay. If Mr. Kelkar and the others continue to picket in spite of the fines, they must suffer material ruin. I hope they will all stand that test. To put up with loss of property is as necessary as loss of life for the national uplift.

In the Sabarmati Jail

As if there was design in the move, an echo of the Karachi Jail comes now from Sabarmati Jail. Jairamdas will not submit in the degrading manner prescribed, he will not submit to the search. He is therefore confined to solitary cell, he is deprived of light and sandals. It is said that he will have still further penalties imposed on him, if he does not yield. He may be put in irons and kept standing for three days. Such penalty has been paid before now by our forefathers, it has been paid in all times and in many lands. I hope that God will give strength to the prisoners who have challenged the authorities and that they will not surrender though they should have to die.

M. K. G.

(Continued from Page 93)

In Dehra-Dun

From these reports of murders committed in cold blood, we turn our eyes to the incident which happened at Dehra-Dun on 15th January last, and which sent a thrill of horror throughout the city and the neighbouring tracts of territory. The heroes of this drama of three Acts are Messrs. Herchenroder and Plowden, Magistrates of Dehra-Dun and Roorkee respectively. When their blood is up, these European Officers are no respecters of persons, especially Indians, whether they be co-operators or non-co-operators, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Ugra Sen, Bar-at-Law, M. L. C., who attended the case, been requisitioned by the Joint Magistrate, should have been rudely insulted by Mr. Plowden on this occasion. The first Act of the episode opens with an assault led by Mr. Herchenroder against Thakur Manjeet Singh Rathore B. A. (Head Master National High School and Secretary Dehra-Dun Congress Committee), and his batch of twenty volunteers. When Mr. Manjeet Singh with his volunteers was passing the Telegraph Office on the Rajpore Road, Mr. Herchenroder came up in a motor car and whipped the party especially their leader till his whip gave way. The second Act is marked by more blood curdling assault on Lala Banu Mall lately Secretary Dehra-Dun Congress Committee and one of the prominent Congress Workers of the locality. This happened at the junction of aja's road and Tilak Road when Mr. Banu Mall was coming from the Railway Station side with his batch of 20 volunteers. Mr. Harchenroder so brutally belaboured Lala Sahib that the sight was hardly bearable. Then comes the climax when the Magistrate entered the Tilak grounds where a vast meeting of the citizens was being held and Lala Baluki Ram, Bar-at-Law and Mr. Farukhi, Presidents of the Congress and Khilafat Committees respectively, were counselling the people to observe peace under all provocations. The Magistrates demanded the dispersal of the meeting within 20 minutes, and beckoned the constables, who were marking time on the road outside, to forcibly occupy the grounds. The constables came marching and brandishing their sticks, but Mr. Baluki Ram averted a catastrophe by advising the people to disperse.

Young India

9-2-22.

The Only Issue

By M. K. GANDHI

It was not without deep thought and prayer that I wrote the letter to His Excellency the Viceroy. It is not a threat because every word in it is meant. It is a heartfelt prayer to the tyrant to desist from evil. Lord Reading is not the tyrant. The system of which he is himself an unconscious and helpless victim is the tyrant. But every system becomes embodied in a person. To day it is personified in Lord Reading no matter how unconscious he is of it. I have invited him in all humility seriously to consider the position and ask himself whether the official lawlessness can in any case be justified. Let him turn to the week's summary to which the old heading "In Cold Blood" is restored. It is all true if the witnesses are not all liars. Should these things be?

But what of defiance of authority? Must defiance (non-violent at least) indeed of authority be met by barbarous and wicked abuse of it?

If the Viceroy cannot or will not see such an incredibly simple issue must India sit still? Defensive civil disobedience ~~must~~ continue at any cost. If the whole of India were to say that even peaceful public meetings may not be held without permission, that peaceful volunteer associations may not be formed without permission and that newspapers cannot be published without permission, that prohibition cannot be accepted. For a man may not be expected to ask for another's leave to break ~~the law~~ ^{the law} I have mentioned are the bread, the food and the drink of public life.

In a Tangle

By M. K. GANDHI

Sir Henry Wheeler has given us an accurate expression for describing the position of the Bengal Government and for that matter even the Government of India. He considered the debate in the Bengal Legislative Council on the resolution calling upon the Government to cancel all the repressive notices and to discharge all the prisoners convicted under them 'a hopeless unreality.' For him, who perhaps does not know what is going on in Bengal except what his subordinates choose to tell him, the debate may be 'a hopeless unreality.' The fifty councillors who have first hand knowledge of things as they are, refused to be misled by Sir Henry's oratory. To them, the position taken up by the Bengal Government was 'a hopeless unreality.' The lawlessness in the country described by Sir Henry Wheeler existed only in his imagination. What was real did not their estimation need the drastic measures that the Bengal Government had taken. The Councillors knew that such lawlessness as existed in Bengal was disciplined, civil, non-violent and necessitated by the thoughtless action of the authorities. Sir Henry Wheeler failed to drive home to his audience his conviction that Chitta Ranjan Das, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shyam Sundar Chakravarti and now even Babu Hardayal Nag, the aged President of the Provincial Congress Committee, had any mischievous intention.

With the imprisonment of these trusted leaders of the people and many other innocent workers in their minds, the terrifying description given by Sir Henry Wheeler appeared to the members as unreal as it possibly could be and failed to frighten them into rejecting the resolution. The councillors deserve congratulations for the courageous stand they took up for freedom of opinion, because the lawlessness that Sir Henry Wheeler complained of amounts to no more than insistence in defiance of prohibitory orders upon the exercise of the right of free speech and free association.

Forcible dispersal of peaceful meetings, search and seizure of Congress and Khilafat papers and assaults upon the public were such a grim reality with the councillors that they had no choice left to them but to support the resolution. It is worthy of note that Sir Henry Wheeler's amendment was by no means of an uncompromising nature. He offered a non-official committee to go into the matter, but the councillors very properly rejected the compromise. They were not prepared to have the evidence of their own senses disputed by any committee. The Bengal Government must now find itself in a tangle. If it releases the innocent prisoners and recalls its precious notices, the Congress and Khilafat organizations must go on with redoubled vigour. If it refuses to carry out the resolution, it must forfeit the support of the moderates to a large extent. Of course, it can live without that support, as it has done all these long years. But it must know that a new era has dawned upon India. The people are no longer amenable to repression. They are becoming increasingly conscious of their strength. They are becoming increasingly inured to sufferings. No Government in the world can possibly repress into submission a people strong and willing enough to suffer.

What is true of Bengal is true of Bihar. The Bihar Council also has spoken in no uncertain terms. The Council of the United Provinces has accepted a compromise, but even there the Government has really no case. It has become difficult for me in spite of doubling the size of *Young India* to quote all the reports of terrible repression received from almost every part of India. It is not now mere imprisonment. It is shameful disregard and equally shameful distortion even of repressive laws.

Sir Henry Wheeler has given us also another good expression—'tyranny of words and phrases'. He would not be tyrannised by the word 'repression.' He says every law is repressive and that the public should not be frightened by the word but that they should look at the reality. Let us then face the reality and go behind the tyranny of the phrase 'Law and Order'. Sir Hormusji Wadia eloquently reminded the Malaviya Conference that many a dark deed was done in the time of the Bourbons in France and elsewhere in the sacred name of 'Law and Order.' If we would get rid of the magic spell of those two words, we would find that lives and property of the people of India have been rendered unsafe by the acts of the administrators of 'Law and Order.' It is a sign of the times that the people, even councillors, refuse to live under the 'tyranny of words and phrases' and be deceived by the hopeless unreality of the Government's position. Non-co-operation is a strong solvent and we shall soon find that both the Government and the people will have to come to grips with hopeful realities and get out of the maze of hopeless unrealities in which both have hitherto lived.

To Mr. Gandhi's Letter to the Viceroy

His Excellency,
The Viceroy,
Delhi.

Sir,

Bardoli is a small *taluk* in the Surat District in the Bombay Presidency, having a population of about 87,000 all told.

On the 29th ultimo it decided under the presidency of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel to embark on mass civil disobedience, having proved its fitness for it in terms of the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee which met at Delhi during the first week of November last. But as I am perhaps chiefly responsible for Bardoli's decision, I owe it to your Excellency and the public to explain the situation under which the decision has been taken.

It was intended under the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, before referred to, to make Bardoli the first unit for mass civil disobedience in order to mark the national revolt against the Government for its consistently criminal refusal to appreciate India's resolve regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj.

Then followed the unfortunate and regrettable rioting on the 17th November last in Bombay, resulting in the postponement of the step contemplated by Bardoli.

Meanwhile repression of a virulent type has taken place with the concurrence of the Government of India in Bengal, Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Province of Delhi and in a way in Bihar and Orissa and elsewhere. I know that you have objected to the use of the word "repression" for describing the action of the authorities in these provinces. In my opinion when action is taken which is in excess of the requirements of a situation, it is undoubtedly repression. The looting of property, assaults on innocent people, the brutal treatment of prisoners in the jails including flogging can in no sense be described as legal, civilized or in any way necessary. This official lawlessness cannot be described by any other term but lawless repression. Intimidation by non-co-operators or their sympathisers to a certain extent in connection with *harkats* and picketing may be admitted but in no case can it be held to justify the wholesale suppression of peaceful volunteering or equally peaceful public meetings under a distorted use of an extraordinary law which was passed in order to deal with activities which were manifestly violent both in intention and action, nor is it possible to designate as otherwise than repression, action taken against innocent people under what has appeared to many of us an illegal use of the ordinary law, nor again can the administrative interference with the liberty of the press under a law that is under promise of repeal be regarded as anything but repression.

The immediate task before the country, therefore, is to rescue from paralysis freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the press. In the present mood of the Government of India and in the present unprepared state of the country in respect of complete control of the forces of violence, non-co-operators were unwilling to have anything to do with the Malaviya Conference whose object was to induce Your Excellency to convene a Round Table Conference. But as I was anxious to avoid all avoidable suffering, I had no hesitation in advising the Working Committee of the Congress to accept the recommendations of that Conference. Although in my opinion the terms were quite in keeping with your own

requirements as I understood them through your Calcutta speech and otherwise, you have summarily rejected the proposal.

In the circumstances, there is nothing before the country but to adopt some non-violent method for the enforcement of its demands including the elementary rights of free speech, free association and free press. In my humble opinion the recent events are a clear departure from the civilized policy laid down by Your Excellency at the time of the generous, manly and unconditional apology of the Ali Brothers viz., that the Government of India should not interfere with the activities of non-co-operation so long as they remained non-violent in word and deed. Had the Government's policy remained neutral and allowed public opinion to ripen and have its full effect, it would have been possible to advise postponement of the adoption of civil disobedience of an aggressive type till the Congress had acquired fuller control over the forces of violence in the country and enforced greater discipline among the millions of its adherents. But this lawless repression (in a way unparalleled in the history of this unfortunate country) has made the immediate adoption of mass civil disobedience an imperative duty. The Working Committee of the Congress has restricted it to only certain areas to be selected by me from time to time, and at present it is confined only to Bardoli. I may, under said authority, give my consent at once in respect of a group of 100 villages in Guntur in the Madras Presidency, provided they can strictly conform to the conditions of non-violence, unity among different classes, the adoption and manufacture of handspun *khadi* and untouchability.

But before the people of Bardoli actually commence mass civil disobedience, I would respectfully urge you as the head of the Government of India, finally to revise your policy and set free all the non-co-operating prisoners ~~who are convicted under trial for non-violent activities and to set them free~~ ^{and to set them free} as a policy of absolute non-interference with all non-violent activities in the country whether they be regarding the redress of the Khilafat or the Punjab wrongs or Swaraj or any other purpose and even though they fall under the repressive sections of the Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code or other repressive laws subject always to the condition of non-violence. I would further urge you to free the Press from all administrative control and to restore all the fines and forfeitures recently imposed. In thus urging I am asking Your Excellency to do what is being done to-day in every country which is deemed to be under civilized Government. If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days of the date of publication of this manifesto, I shall be prepared to advise postponement of civil disobedience of an aggressive character, till the imprisoned workers have, after their discharge, reviewed the whole situation and considered the position *de novo*. If the Government make the requested declaration I shall regard it as an honest desire on its part to give effect to public opinion and shall therefore have no hesitation in advising the country to be engaged in further moulding public opinion without violent restraint from either side and trust to its working to secure the fulfilment of its unalterable demands. Aggressive civil disobedience in that case will be taken up only when the Government departs from its policy of strictest neutrality or refuses to yield to clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India.

I remain,
Your Excellency's faithful
servant and friend,

M. K. Gandhi.

Violence in the Camp

By M. K. GANDHI

Doctors Rajan and Shastry two of best workers of Madras, have been arrested together with two others evidently in the cause of, shall I say, intemperance. The Madras Government have discovered a method of breaking up Congress and Khilafat organisations without resort to the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act. They will do better than Bengal and the United Provinces. They will avoid the reproach of having enforced the Acts which have become the object of criticism in the country. And I hear that in Madras, at any rate, it is the redoubtable Sir Thyagraj Chetty more than Lord Willingdon who is bent upon breaking up these organisations. For non-co-operators, who are against measures and not men, it is one and the same thing whether the actor is an Indian or an Englishman. It is my certain conviction that Englishmen who serve under Swaraj Government will be as good as Indians. And we are sorrowful witnesses of the fact that some of our countrymen can, under the existing system, become just as efficient administrators of a vicious system as Englishmen. We have therefore to fight the system irrespective of men. We, who have been victims for four generations of a dual law, one for Englishmen and another for ourselves, must not be guilty of it ourselves. Let Madras, therefore, be tried and purified even under Sir Thyagraj Chetty's rule.

If we are true to ourselves, we shall be able effectively to deal with all our opponents, whether they be our own countrymen or Englishmen. But a letter received from Dr. Rajan four days before his arrest emphasises the warning given to us by recent happenings that we have to beware more of ourselves than of our opponents. ~~Here is his letter~~ evidently not written for public consumption. ~~It is both a~~ confession and a criticism. Writes Dr. Rajan:—

"One of our young friends G. V. Kripinidhi by name, wrote the editorial in the *Swarajya* on the 15th inst. entitled "To Our Shame" regarding the *hartal* troubles in Madras. Mr. Prakasham was absent away at Bombay. The day prior to the *hartal* I was able to prevail on the organisers that the volunteers should be made to do police duty and protect those that opened their shops and that went to the Prince's visit. But later Mr. Prakasham insisted that they must remain indoors. There was bitter comment against that article and I felt it my duty to support the leading article, a copy of which I send for your perusal.

"Just two days ago, Mr. Singaravelu Chettiar, President Madras Dist. Congress Council, held a public meeting on the Madras beach. The first resolution congratulated the citizens on Madras on their successful *hartal* and the second resolution condemned the excesses committed that day. Mr. Prakasham did not agree with your criticism of my letter to you and said in his speech that my letter did not give you sufficient data to draw the conclusions you have drawn. I wired to Mr. Singaravelu not to have this ugly meeting but evidently no notice seems to have been taken of it. It is indeed a great pity that I am not strong enough to induce our non-co-operators to see their mistakes, while they are gloating over their success that the public of Madras have redeemed the pledge given to you regarding the *hartal*. Yet the grim fact remains that violence and undue coercion have made the *hartal* a failure for non-violent non-co-operation. Whilst this struggle for non-violence exists against the violence of our own men, one may well hesitate to take a

single step forward in civil resistance. I have often written in the local press about the weakness of our party in the fact that some of our non-co-operators do not have the same faith in non-violence as they should have.

"Salem has been the target of attack by the local Government this week. Almost all the workers, speakers, volunteers, including myself and Ramaswamy Naikar, have been served with 144 asking us not to hold any public meeting or advocate abstention from drink. Civil disobedience (individual) has been started, and already three non-co-operating Vakils and fifteen others have disobeyed and are in jail. Yesterday three more disobeyed the order and twelve have been arrested. The Chairman of the Municipality and four practising Vakils have been served with notices under 144 preventing them from addressing any meeting. To-day at Madura 17 volunteers have been arrested for picketing. So far there has been no violence anywhere. I have not yet offered disobedience but I intend doing so during the course of the week or after 1st February.

"I am rather taken aback at my own change—from a revolutionary of the India House of 1908 to the non-violent non-co operator of 1922. It is indeed a change but this change of heart, the peace of suffering, the perfect unconcern of the mind with which it is faced, seem well nigh impossible but for living examples. Years ago I would have fumed and fretted against any restraining orders, I would have vowed vengeance against the policeman that served the notice, against the official that issued the illegal and mad order but to-day I have not got any ill-will against them, but would be thanking the official for having given me one more proof, feeble as it is, to the many glaring instances of the utter disregard of truth and righteousness of the present administrative machinery, which has made monsters of mild and good men and I have nothing but pity for the erring official. Even for his sake suffering seems to be the only remedy open to us at this juncture.

"Hostile papers make capital out of your writing in the *Navajivan* that "you are at sea", with regard to Swaraj. It has given room to misconceptions. It may be that the Associated Press has advantageously extracted only portions of it. It strikes me as if you are unduly pessimistic. I do not know whether you felt exactly on the verge of hopelessness about non-violence and untouchability. Progress in our present condition is possible only under limitations and till the restricting limitations are shattered no robust growth is possible. Swaraj will break our limitations and give us sufficient light and air. Any scheme of Swaraj must aim at breaking these barriers of progress and it is a question which should come first. There is no use letting more of our countrymen getting Europeanised and ridicule the *charkha* as the wonderful Madras ministry has done. The national deterioration must stop. I think it would be better if you could reproduce the whole of your article of the *Navajivan* in *Young India* with any comment you think necessary thereon. I have unnecessarily made this letter lengthy. Kindly excuse trouble."

I need not remark now upon the fact that now-a-days people are being singled out for imprisonment for the sake of their non-violence if they are also influential. I reproduce the letter for the warning it contains. There is little doubt that there are some among us who do not implicitly believe in non-violence even while they are under the pledge, i. e. they do not mind the assistance of those who would do violence. They seem to believe that violence can run parallel to non-violence and

the two together accelerate the progress of the country towards its goal. Such an attitude besides being hypocritical is positively against the Country's interest. Two opposite forces may run parallel but they cannot both go in the same direction! If non-violence was a camouflage or a preparation for violence, an accidental or intended outbreak of it might be by way of trial a great gain even during the pendency of so-called non-violence. But that is not India's religious battle. God is witness above and He is just enough to chastise every double dealing. Our present belief is that India cannot gain anything by violence and must gain her three ends by non-violence alone unsupported by violence. If therefore we will win, there must be on the part of non-co operators an unequivocal and emphatic mental and vocal condemnation of every act of violence done out of sympathy for their cause. Let those who do not believe in non-violence or believe in both running together form a party of their own and fight out the issue. That would make a non-co-operator's task difficult but not so difficult as when he has to fight an enemy in his own camp. His system must be kept pure. Any impurity from within will be an organic disease and may prove fatal. No attack from without can ever prove fatal. The first and indeed the only condition of success therefore is that we must be true to ourselves.

The confession therefore that Dr. Rajan has made is an invigorating process. It strengthens him and the cause for which he stands. Non-co-operation is a vicious and corrupt doctrine, truly an 'ugly' word, if it does not mean downright self-purification. Stubborn and implacable resistance against internal corruption is enough resistance against the Government. As soon as the process of self-purification is complete, we shall miss the system we appear to be fighting.

There is nothing in the *Capitol* that is being made out of my writing in the *Navajivan* referred to by Dr. Rajan. I observe that the *Svarajya* has already published a fair translation of the whole article which was written after careful thought. It explains itself.

In Cold Blood

In Calcutta

We shall begin this week's summary of repression with the evidence of three witnesses given on oath before a Magistrate in Calcutta who has been deputed by the Bengal Government to hold an enquiry on the Entally disturbance as a set-off against the activities of the Peoples' Protection Society in the city, which has done and is doing valuable service by gathering evidence of atrocious deeds of the police, the military and the Civil Guards of that city. One of these witnesses is an Anglo-Indian, Mr. A. J. Williams of 23 Gope Lane, Calcutta, another a poor victim of police and Eurasian rowdism, and the third a Mahomedan resident, who narrowly escaped with his life, but was eye-witness to the death of an innocent passer-by at the hands of a Eurasian who clubbed the man to death. The facts related by Mr. Williams in his long evidence give a vivid impression of the whole incident as this gentleman was present in the streets for a long time trying to bring succour to the dying and the wounded. When in the course of that work he met two high police officials and complained to them of the unlawful and rowdy acts of the police, Mr. Shevlin (Assistant Commissioner of Police) who was one of the officials, requested him not to say anything against the sergeants. But Mr. Williams told him roundly that he was a Christian and could not

conceal non-Christian acts committed by anybody. They could take what steps they liked against offenders. But they had no right to hit innocent passers-by.

What does Mr. Williams say in the course of his evidence? Questioned as to whether he had seen anybody killed, he replied he had. He and his friend Mr. Look found what looked like a dead body in a phaeton near a street hydrant. There was a discussion as to whether the man was dead or not. Thereupon one of the sergeants gave the dead body a kick, and the body fell down from the seat of the carriage to the well. At this Mr. Look told the sergeant—"That man is already dead, he won't do you any harm." Mr. Look then put the body on the seat and Mr. Bose (a police official) asked some constables to take it to the Campbell Hospital.

When the news of the disturbance reached him through his cook, Mr. Williams at once came out of his house with his friend Mr. Look to ascertain what the matter was. He found some sergeants and policemen on the road with *lathis* and revolvers in hand, and asked one of the senior sergeants who was an old man, as to what had happened and was told in reply that they were chasing the Gandhivalas. We close Mr. Williams' evidence with a report of one other incident among others related by him to the Magistrate. It runs as follows:—

"Another man wearing a 'chapkan' or shirt came from the direction of Mr. Reed's house to No. 31, when Clive Firmi (who gave his name as Henry) gave him one blow and repeated several blows, while Edgar began to kick and fist him. The man fell down unconscious bleeding profusely. Seeing this witness remonstrated with them. Witness drew the attention of the sergeants to this, saying 'You allow these 'jail birds' to beat the people and take the blame on yourselves.' Witness further told that they were also drunk. One of the sergeants whom he could identify asked witness as to why he was taking part on behalf of the 'niggers'. Witness also found the sergeant drunk and witness kept quiet".

The second evidence is that of a poor victim of the lawlessness, Sheikh Babu a tailor, who was wounded and was carried to the Court by constables. He said that on the day of occurrence he was returning from Phulbagan and 8 to 10 Eurasians with two sergeants came up running. The sergeants chased witness and one of them hit him on the head with a baton and 8 or 10 Eurasians assaulted him with *lundas*. One of the Eurasians was one-eyed. They all kicked and cuffed witness. Witness fell down on the ground and was dragged along the road and put in a lorry by the "Goras". Witness was even assaulted while he was in the lorry. They said "Rassal, call Gandhi." Witness pleaded ignorance. He was still unable to move and was suffering from paralysis.

The third witness Jairab Hassan narrowly escaped by running for life. But he said he saw a man coming from the direction of Ismail street towards Phulbagan when a short-statured Eurasian who had "mugur" (club) in his hand struck the man on the head who dropped down dead. A sergeant who was there then kicked the dead body.

In Dacca

The situation in Dacca was similar in some respects to that of Dehra-Dun except that the brave Dacca people would rather face death than submit to any tyrannical

order. Dacca has, therefore, given a good account of itself by registering so far a list of 55 persons wounded more or less seriously at the hands of the police, thus keeping up the standard of cool courage and quiet strength which we have learnt to associate with the name of the people of Bengal and of which they are giving ample proof during this fight of right against might. In defiance of the order of the District Magistrate under section 144 Criminal Procedure Code, the people of Dacca assembled on January 23rd at a meeting at the Coronation Park and although three successive chairmen were arrested one by one, there was no dearth of men to occupy the chair. The police officers found that this was a hopeless game and therefore proceeded forcibly to stop speakers addressing the meeting. They then ordered the assembly to disperse, which having not been carried out, blows from *lathis* and canes began to fall thick upon the people, Mr. Faulkner S. P. himself used a regulation *lathi* against the audience. Some of the people fell down prostrate on the ground, but they were dragged by their hands and feet. Legs of small boys and young men were caught hold of by some of the sergeants and constables who ran as fast as they could with the heads of the volunteers upside down. The constables also marched over the bodies of people who lay on the ground. Charges and assaults were repeated times without number, making the sight so unbearable to outside spectators that the effect of this exemplary patience and forbearance was marred by a few stones being thrown at the police from outside the Park. Still the local English daily of Dacca which is not a non-co-operation paper declared that it was not possible to write calmly on the subject. It says, "Non-co-operators are in almost every pronouncement roundly accused of breaking and defying the law, but we cannot see now how the local officials were themselves in a better position at the Coronation Park on Monday evening in dispersing the crowd. There was no doubt that the meeting was attempted to be held in defiance of the order of the District Magistrate, but what were the methods adopted to disperse the meeting? Under what law, we would like to know, efforts were made to force the speakers to take their seats? We would again like to know what sections of the Statute Book authorise any officer or men of the Police Department to drag a man lying flat on the ground by the leg, till the person who pulls gives up from sheer exhaustion? Where are the provisions for the Police officers and men to kick and beat with regulation *lathis* those who had come to attend the meeting in the Coronation Park?"

But our contemporary is sadly mistaken when it proceeds to discuss the legalities of the question. This Government has no force to hold it together except the immoral force of violence. So far it concealed its ugliness under cover of a neat exterior. It is to India's good that the ugliness is being exposed from day to day.

In Jullunder

But if the incident at Dacca proved so shocking to our contemporary, that of Jullunder, which we are going to describe now in the words of a correspondent, who is a respectable citizen of that city, and who till this occurrence was a believer in the efficiency of the Reforms but now finds all his faith shattered, should prove more so. This is the description of the happenings on 27th January at Jullunder during the sale of excise contracts, in the words of our correspondent:—

"But if the volunteers were absolutely quiet and peaceful and determined not to give the police the slightest excuse for use of violence, Lt. Col. Buck was not to be baffled thereby and he could certainly not afford to let slip such a splendid opportunity for giving vent to his long pent up passions. At about half-past-ten he led the first attack on the volunteers and made quite a free use of his stick. At about 1 p. m. the second attack was delivered. Two volunteers were standing at a quite out of the way place more than a hundred yards away from the Dist. Court compound. Col. Buck and his companions caught hold of them, dragged them down to opposite the houses of Sardar Kesar Singh Vakil and Pandit Kewal Kishan, the Public Prosecutor, where they were joined by four or five more volunteers and all these persons were very mercilessly beaten by the Colonel and the Deputy Superintendent of Police and their co-adjutors till they actually fainted. Colonel Buck is reported to have entered Pandit Saraswati Ram's verandah and to have given a thrashing to persons sitting there including the Pandit's clients. (I may note here that Colonel Buck afterwards issued a notice to pleaders and others occupying houses on the road opposite the District Court, intimating that they would be liable to be prosecuted under Section 167 Indian Penal Code in case they allowed any undesirable persons to stay on their premises. The Colonel seems to possess really a very fine legal acumen).

"The 3rd attack was delivered on the Jail Road. The police were ordered to march. They marched on beating heartlessly those they came across and dragging those that had laid themselves prostrate on the ground. A large number of volunteers and other people were severely hurt.

"Four attacks were one after the other delivered on the Reink Bazar, Col. Buck taking the command in all four. He, to start with, ordered the police constables to put off their over-coats to enable them to use their sticks more freely. The constables beat the people and Col. Buck and two Military Officers who accompanied him seized the police victims and threw them into the sewage close by. One of the persons so treated was no other than Sardar Hari Singh, one of the leading citizens of Jullunder, the late Secretary of the District Congress Committee and a member of the record batch of BRAVE SIKHS arrested in connection with the Amritsar Keys affair.

"It will be noticed that although there have been cases of most dastardly assaults on peaceful citizens by the Police, in other places, the credit of inventing an altogether novel way of humiliating them by throwing them into filth and mud belongs to the District Magistrate of Jullunder. He was so much beside himself with rage and fury that so far from exercising any restraining influence on the Police and the Military, he was himself the most active assailant of persons who did not so much as raise their finger. He is reported to have broken his stick in the act of beating. He entered private houses and shops and dragged people out to beat them. Pandit Chamba Ram a local Poet and a Member of the National Service was assaulted by him while he (Pandit Chamba Ram) was actually asking people to disperse. He beat him so mercilessly that he fainted as a result of the injuries received by him. He is still in a very precarious condition. In some respects Lt. Col. Buck outdid even the Martial Law Administrator. The latter issued what are known to us as "Salaaming Orders" and punished those who disobeyed them, but our Colonel punished those who did not salaam him even though he had not promulgated any

such order. Myself and several highly respectable gentlemen including Raizada Bhagat Ram are eye-witnesses to at least one such case. A young gentleman Mr. Alias Mohd. Khan was driving in a tonga accompanied by his two friends Messrs. Safdar Din Khan and Mir Mohd. Khan, the latter the son of a highly respected and respectable citizen of Jullundur. When the tonga passed by Col. Buck, he first struck Mir Mohd. with his stick and then gave two blows to Mr. Alias Mohd. himself and asked him why he had not saluted him. He then ordered him to come down from the tonga and to salute him. Mr. Alias Mohd. complied with this order and was allowed to go on.

"I have written the above with full sense of my responsibility. I have scrupulously avoided all exaggeration. If I have erred at all, I must have erred on the side of understatement rather than on that of overstatement. Sir John Maynard while referring to the complaints of the alleged Police atrocities at Amritsar and Lahore was pleased to remark that only so much force was used on those occasions as was necessary to disperse an unlawful assembly. May I put to him, through these columns, if it will be possible for him to explain the happening at Jullundur of which I have attempted to give just a brief narrative with that simple remark. In the light of the Government's past attitude it seems to be futile to suggest Public Enquiry into these happenings. Should however such a suggestion be acceptable to the Government, it will be possible for the people of Jullundur to make out an exceptionally strong case showing how terrorism of the very worst type was resorted to and how attempt was made to humiliate His Majesty's Indian Subjects by a servant of the Crown, in spite of all the fascinating phrases used by Mr. Montagu in his despatch on Lord Hunter's Report and in the House of Commons and so often repeated by the present Viceroy."

Our correspondent therefore says that when at the Amritsar Congress the argument was brought forward against the Reforms that it would not make Jallianwalla impossible, he was not particularly impressed by that, but rather, was fascinated by the suggestion that under the new regime the bureaucracy would quail before the force of public opinion. Little did he know that his disillusionment would come so soon. The Martial Law atrocities were mostly regulated by a code. But the present ones are absolutely free and unchartered.

In Madaripur

Where, for instance, is the authority of the police to forcibly occupy a Congress Office and drive out the workers in the dead hours of a cold wintry night as has been done at Madaripur in Bengal? The incident was so repugnant to the legal sense of the town that a Committee of Enquiry was formed consisting of the President and Secretary of the Bar Association, the Chairman of the Municipality and two other important members of the legal profession, who invited the officials also to represent their side of the case, which was, of course, refused with indifference. And what is the finding of the Committee?

"From the statements of the person examined we are convinced that on the 7th January after nightfall Babu Prem Mohan Ghose, Sub-Inspector of Police accompanied by some Police officers and constables approached Babu Ananda Charan Das Gupta (owner of the house) and asked him to drive away the Congress workers from his

house on that very night and that they were ready to assist him with Police force if necessary. Ananda Babu refused to do so on the ground that it would be illegal to turn them out as the house was let out to them for one year at Rs. 25 per mensem and that the period of lease had not expired. At this they went away and after a short time the D. S. P. accompanied by some Police Sub-Inspectors and constables armed with regulation lathis appeared in the Congress office compound and asked the Congress workers to vacate the house immediately as he had got orders from the higher authorities to that effect. The Congress workers refused to comply saying that the Congress Committees were not yet declared unlawful. The D. S. P. replied that it would not make any difference whether they were turned out legally or illegally as they (workers) were not prepared to obey laws and also added that unless they would go out in pursuance of the order they would be forcibly turned out. After this the D. S. P. departed leaving instructions with the Sub-Inspectors.

The Sub-Inspector asked the Congress Workers to vacate the house after finishing their meals promptly, as he had orders from the authorities to clear the house that very night. Dr. Sudhir Chandra Sen wanted to see the order, but the Sub-Inspector refused to produce it. Then, as the readers may imagine, the workers some 25 in number were forcibly ejected from the house, some caught by the hand, some by the neck and all of them pushed out of the compound by regulation lathis placed horizontally at their backs. The Committee also records that "some of the workers were not allowed to finish their meals as the police entered the kitchen with their boots on and turned out the inmates by force. It appears that one of the workers was ill with high fever and another with diarrhoea and that they were in bed under medical treatment. The inmates were not allowed to take out their clothings, beddings, utensils and store of food stuffs etc., which are still in the house under police custody. The boys thus driven out came to the main road and paraded the town shouting 'Bande Mataram' and 'Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai' asking for shelter from house to house in the cold wintry night without having sufficient warm clothing on their bodies."

We shall end this survey of repression of the week with the mention of a shooting case by the police at Salanga Hat in Seraganj, Bengal, which resulted in four deaths and six wounded according to the official report, but five deaths and more than two hundred wounded according to non-official report. The official report says that on the arrest of some volunteers at the Hat the crowd surrounded the party consisting of the Magistrate, the S. P. and D. S. P. and threatened them with violence, and did not disperse even though blank volleys were fired which ultimately necessitated the use of ball fire. But the non-official report says that the police after arresting the volunteers began to maltreat them which necessarily drew sympathy from the crowd some of whom began to plead for the volunteers. This interference was too much for the police who struck some members of the crowd also, whereupon the crowd threw brickbats at the police which did not reach them at all as none of them was hurt. Still firing was resorted to. We shall wait for further facts relating to the incident to come out in the course of the week.

(Continued on Page 57)

The Dawn of the New Age

By W. W. PEARSON

PART I

Amidst a widespread wretchedness such as the world has never known before, amidst famine and pestilence in Europe on a scale that defies the imagination to picture, and amidst a political and social unrest both in Europe and in Asia which makes the most optimistic sometimes despair, it seems almost absurd to speak of the Dawn of a New Age. On every side we seem to see that the powers of evil are in the ascendancy. In Europe vengeance and hatred born of the Great War have reacted on the various nations until there is not a country which is not suffering the results of a false and vindictive peace. The statesmen who at present guide the external destinies of the nations have no wisdom and the people themselves seem to have no vision, and "where there is no vision the people perish". It appears as if the very evils which the war was supposed to have destroyed have now returned in tenfold force to cast the world into a chaos of conflicting interests greater than history has ever known. The powers of darkness show themselves as outwardly more powerful and less ashamed than ever before. Half of Europe is in ruins and Western civilisation itself is threatened, while in Ireland, in Egypt, and in India we have seen during the last two years events which would have been regarded as inconceivable fifty years ago in countries ruled over by a nation that calls itself civilised.

But these evils are but the outward and visible signs of the approaching and rapid decay of that which once was powerful, and symptoms of a terrified consciousness amongst those who at present rule by force that the reign of the mighty is nearing its end. Anyone who knew the actual state of mind of the ruling classes in every part of the world before and during the war could have foreseen that such examples of cruelty and crime as have been witnessed were bound to show themselves, not as isolated examples of frightened officialdom, but as the logical outcome of the spirit in which one race competes with another or imposes its rule over the weak. These manifestations of the passing of the reign of Force only reveal the fact that those who ruled in the past are feeling acutely the wrench which inevitably accompanies the loss of power. A tiger when it has been wounded almost to death shows suddenly an overwhelming strength and tears at its prey with an even more savage brutality than when injured. But this fury is the sign of its approaching death, and not a symptom of renewed vitality.

It is therefore well not to be too pessimistic in our outlook on the world as it appears to us. Underlying the appearance there is a reality which is filled with hope, the hope of a new world. The very brutality of vengeance and the stupidity of repression are actually serving to bring to an end all the more rapidly the rule of Force and to bring in the reign of Freedom in every part of the world.

This is being proved with regard to Ireland, to Egypt, and to India. Take the one example of Amritsar. It was a futile folly on the part of the Government of India to try and suppress the facts of the Punjab atrocities for eight months. Those eight months proved to be but the period of incubation necessary for the nemesis which is even yet not full grown. Wherever the governments of the Past are trying to preserve the old methods of governing the people, we find that the forces of freedom are proving too strong for them.

Throughout the whole world the old order is giving way before the new. It is not therefore surprising that there should be violent attempts on the part of those who were responsible for the old order to clutch desperately at the power which they feel is slipping from their grasp. A new order cannot come into being without the pain of travail. The old order cannot die without being conscious that its death is at hand. Energy is only wasted by futile regrets at the necessity for suffering as a means of the liberation of mankind. This suffering is the inevitable outcome of man's refusal to accept the only final solution, namely, that which is realised in human brotherhood and love. If violence and counter-violence are part of the price that has to be paid in physical pain and suffering, let us not be blind to the final goal, which is the ultimate liberation of all mankind.

But we cannot remain satisfied with a mere statement that pain and suffering are necessary accompaniments of the birth of a new age, or with the oft-repeated words that "the darkest hour precedes the dawn." We need some positive evidence of the Dawn itself before we can feel truly hopeful at the outlook for the Future. At present, power is in the hands of those who know only how to abuse it and lead the world into still greater miseries. But how long will these rulers retain that power? Have not many of them already lost it? Many of those who were responsible for the so-called Peace, have lost their position not only in the world of politics but in the esteem of the world. The "war-lords" have fallen, and of the "Peacemakers" the very names of many of them have been forgotten. Lately in America Marshal Foch was almost unnoticed in a great convocation in which he was to be one of those honoured. The name of President Wilson alone will go down to posterity because of the ideals he expressed, and though it is true he failed to fulfil the high hopes which his spoken words raised, yet the very disappointment, world-wide in extent, at his failure to carry out his purpose was a measure of the intensity with which the common people in many countries had been inspired by the ideals which he proclaimed. When he came to Europe he was greeted by the common people as the saviour of the peoples because they believed he had come to establish a kingdom in which brotherhood and love should rule in the place of force and hatred. It seems clear that those who have been ruling the destinies of mankind during the last few years have reached the limits of their power, and now continue to exercise outward control only that they may complete the ruin which their political follies have begun.

There is still further proof of a great change coming over the world and that of a nature which cannot be concealed. It is that the nations are discovering with astonishing rapidity the undoubted fact that the unity of all mankind, which their statesmen told them during the war was so desirable, is now an actual necessity. The fact that the world is actually one, and that nations can no longer live the life of selfish isolation and competition one with another, is being made clearer day by day. The need for food and clothing and houses is one which is experienced by every nation, and it is being realised that in the present condition of the world these necessities of life cannot be adequately supplied in any one nation without the help and co-operation of every other nation. We may take one example only. Hatred against the Soviet Government of Russia induced some of her neighbours to institute a blockade against that country. But after two years the need for raw materials and the desire for

an open market in that vast and potentially wealthy land forced those same neighbours to lift the blockade. The stern necessity of economic facts supported the idealists, and the unity which the policy of politicians would deny to the world will be realised in spite of their utmost efforts to prevent its realisation.

Many people feel distressed because the Utopia of the idealists has to be realised forcibly by the pressure of economic conditions. But is this not really encouraging? The fact that the economic consequences of a bad and selfish Peace are such that the world has at last to accept the solution offered by the idealists, conclusively proves that the world in which we live is so constructed in its material aspect that it cannot hold together if attempts are made to found it upon base and ignoble aims.

A world which refuses to be hammered into the shape designed by diplomatists and capitalists, which falls into ruin and chaos at the touch of their coarse and callous hands must in its essential quality be a noble world, and one in which spiritual ideals must be meant eventually to triumph. The very structure and security of the world itself demands that a worldwide alliance between all the nations become a realised fact. The Future then is not in the hands of the present rulers except in so far as they are preparing its foundations by clearing away the debris of the Past. The Future is with those whose names are unknown, but who are content to remain in obscurity having faith in the true peace of Mankind, and in a world ruled by Love. By their faith the world will be redeemed from its past and will be able to enter an era in which the whole of human life will be lifted to a higher plane.

Rabindranath Tagore has rightly called one of his most beautiful poems "Thanksgiving."

"Those who walk in the path of pride crushing the lowly life under their tread, covering the tender green of the earth with their footprints in blood;

"Let them rejoice, and thank thee, Lord, for the day is theirs.

"But I am thankful that my lot lies with the humble who suffer and bear the burden of power, and hide their faces and stifle their sobs in the dark.

"For every throb of their pain has pulsed in the secret depth of the night, and every insult has been gathered into thy great silence.

"And the morrow is theirs.

"O Sun, rise upon the bleeding hearts blossoming in flowers of the morning, and the torchlight revelry of pride shrunken to ashes."

"For the morrow is theirs." The dawn of that morrow is already breaking and it will soon be the day. Is that merely a hope, or a truth revealed to the mind of the poet? The poets and prophets are always more in touch with the realities of the universe than are those who think they are guiding the destinies of nations.

But is the vision that is seen by prophets destined never to be realised, and the hope which has sent so many to endure the sufferings of martyrdom never to be achieved? Nearly a hundred years ago the greatest of all modern prophets, Mazzini, wrote in his "Faith and the Future":—

"Have faith, then, O ye that suffer for the noble cause, apostles of a Truth that even to-day the world ignores, ye soldiers of the holy battles which the world condemns and calls rebellions. To-morrow, perhaps, that world, to-day incredulous or careless, will bow with fervour before you. To-morrow, victory will crown your crusading banner. Onward in faith, and fear not. That which Christ did Humanity can do. Believe, and you will conquer. Believe, and the peoples will end by following you....."

"From your cross of misfortune and persecution announce the whole faith of the Age; but few days will pass ere it receive its consecration of faith. Let your lips not utter the cry of hate, nor the conspirator's hollow phrase, but the tranquil, solemn word of the days that are to come. From our cross of poverty and proscription, we, the men of exile, who represent in our heart and faith the races of the enslaved, the millions doomed to silence, we will reply to you and say to our brothers: *The alliance is made*. Hurl at your persecutors the legend GOD and HUMANITY. For yet a little time they may rebel and strive against it and stammer blasphemy. But the masses will worship it."

Must we believe that century after century the peoples are to remain in a state of servitude because of their lack of faith? It seems only too clear, as we view the events of the last few years, that the "day is theirs who tread in the path of pride," and even those who are themselves idealists and have given their lives to the service of an ideal, *hope* rather than know that the dawn of a new day is at hand. What facts are there which help us not only to hope but to *know* that the Dawn is already brightening the distant darkness of the world's horizon, and that the "HOLY ALLIANCE OF THE PEOPLES" is actually about to be accomplished?

"It is important to proclaim a New Age," said Mazzini a hundred years ago, and he himself proclaimed it because he was certain that:

"We stand to-day between two ages, between the grave of one world and the cradle of another, between the last boundary of the individualistic philosophy and the threshold of HUMANITY."

No Tax campaign in Andhra

(By M. K. Narsinhrao)

'No tax' campaign is not new to our cultivators. Whenever they had felt they had real grievances against the Government, they had adopted it. When there was a dispute between the Government and the ryots in 1895 regarding water cess, some parts of our District not only refused to pay taxes but also to cultivate the lands. When the non-co-operation movement was started our ryots were advising the propagandists to start 'no tax' campaign. They believed in the efficacy of this campaign. Their idea was with an empty purse the Government could not go on for a day and would therefore go on its knees for a settlement. From the last November discussions regarding non-payment began to take place in all Congress Committees and serious proposals were made to prepare the country for it. Outside the Congress, associations of the village officers had also taken up this idea and worked it up with a view to start it at the bidding of the Congress. At the time of the Congress people were therefore preparing themselves for this campaign. After the Congress Provincial Committee met and gave autonomy to the districts after resolving that the Province was ripe for mass civil disobedience, some districts suspended payment while Guntur alone adopted mass civil disobedience. In the beginning most of the Taluqs were given permission under pressure of the cultivators themselves. But it was subsequently thought the campaign became too wide and it ought to be restricted to a particular area, so that it might be under control. Another reason was that some portions have not satisfied the conditions laid down in Delhi. Consequently a meeting of the Provincial Working Committee was held. There it was resolved as an extra precaution to appoint a Committee to investigate whether the area under experiment was a fit one. A meeting of the District Congress Committee was also convened to reconsider its previous decision. All the leading ryots attended the meeting and took part

in the discussion. There the correspondence between Mahatmaji and the President was discussed and some said if Mahatmaji threw the responsibility on them they would not embark on this campaign. Finally the resolution of the Working Committee was adopted. The area under experiment was not specially prepared by the Congress alone. The Association of the village officers was largely responsible for such startling development. Most of the people that inhabit the prescribed area are Kammas (a non-Brahmin caste) who are second to Brahmins in education and who are a progressive community. Some of them were against non-co-operation in the beginning and staunch supporters of 'Justice' party. By degrees they were convinced of the usefulness of this movement and are now working heart and soul in the movement. For instance Karamchedu, from which village a member for the Legislative Council, who belongs to 'Justice' party and who wields considerable influence in that village was elected, is now converted to non-co-operation; so much so that even the member of the Council has not paid the tax so as to respect the public opinion. The area includes 80 to 100 villages and contain 75 to 80 thousand people and all the village officers including Panchamas have resigned their posts. They were wearing *khadi* even before this movement. Now at least 75 per cent. of them wear *khadi*. As regards untouchability there are villages where people of all castes are drawing water from the same wells but at different times. In meetings, all of them sit together and a Panchama Vettian who resigned his post was garlanded and taken in a procession. The Secretary of their community who was against this movement came there and wanted to test them. When some persons were sitting in a group he brought a Panchama and made him sit in the centre and he was surprised to find that not even one objected. He therefore said, "You are really prepared."

After they took up this campaign in right earnest, i. e. from the beginning of this year, they have been making rapid strides towards the fulfilment of Delhi conditions. They have been even going the length of inducing Panchamas, who are generally timid, to mix with them freely and endeavouring to win their confidence. As regards non-violence, instances have already occurred which go to show that they are perfectly disciplined to withstand considerable suffering. The ryots of the area concerned, appear to have been deliberately withholding payment, not on account of a natural tendency to evade payment but because they are fully conscious that what they are doing is intended to paralyse the Government. Considering with what amount of intelligence and earnestness they have been pursuing this campaign, it is not unsafe to presume they have accurately calculated the consequences and are prepared to face the music. The campaign opened with a skirmish on the 24th of the last month when the sepoys entered the scene of operations. A volunteer was going in a *jetka* in an opposite direction when the sepoys were marching into the village. Without any provocation whatsoever the half famished horse of the *jetka* was hit with the butt end of a rifle by the sepoys, as a consequence of which the *jetka* turned upside down and the inmate rolled on the ground. They pelted him with stones. The horse got stuck up in the mud, the volunteer's clothes were torn and he received bruises on his leg. In spite of that he did not retaliate. The sepoys while marching threw stones at the volunteers, swore at them, and even threatened to shoot them. It looked as though the sepoys were specially brought to irritate the people to violence. Not satisfied with such wild frolics, they entered the fields of the villagers to test their patience and took liberties with the crops. The villagers took it in good part.

Several attachments also have taken place and the Government officers have even wantonly outraged the usual legal procedure in attaching moveable properties. Even bulls, the prime food givers, of a ryot were taken away without a show of restraint. When the officers are bent upon casting even the moral restraint to winds, common law becomes too common to be a law and automatically goes to the wall. Even then the people kept perfectly calm at the bidding of their leaders.

This is about Nandipadu village. Seven miles away from it there is a village by name Parachuri. Armoured cars with fifty soldiers were sent there to terrify them into submission. They wanted eggs. On being refused, they entered some of the houses without permission and being unable to find any they carried away some fowls and a pig to boot. They again returned to the village at night after drinking deep, and insolently, though vainly, asked for "girls". One soldier even passed stools in one of the houses. They entered the fields and raped the crops, calling Mahatmaji names. They also took away some *khadi* caps from the volunteers perhaps as trophies to commemorate their gallant exploits on those who were bent upon being non-violent. The most commendable part is that the people have been willingly offering their properties for attachment. One man offered his foreign clothes for attachment.

As regards other items of the movement villages are generally notorious for factions. In this area, even factions of years' standing have been squared up within a miraculously short time. If a law court is the index of the litigious tendency of the people, the Munsif's court of Bapatla, which has fattened on the litigation of these villages, is now pining away on account of its sudden disappearance. In its place several *panchayats* have arisen. There was a lower secondary school in Nandipadu receiving Government help. Several children that were attending the school joined together and sent an ultimatum as it were to the Manager to nationalise it on the pain of its being deserted. All those boys were under 18. They formed a Volunteer Corps of their own. This is stated to show that even children are more enthusiastic than adults in this campaign. Every village contains not less than one hundred volunteers. Even old men have been enlisting. Those villages have made Nandipadu their base of operations and it looks like a place of pilgrimage for volunteers and other villagers. Up to one thousand go there every day to cheer them. As regards drink, it is marvellous that the contractors have not only wound up their shops but also joined the volunteer corps. This campaign is led by Parvathanani Veerara who is a *Kamma* by caste. He is a member of the District and Provincial Congress Committees and is non-violent by nature. The Government, seeing most of the people there are *Kammas*, has caught hold of a *Kamma* supervisor in the Co-operative branch, made him a Deputy Collector and posted him in Nandipadu. It has also brought another Collector, Mr. Rutherford of Ganjam fame, from a different district to assist the original one. The Deputy Collector is entrusted with one hundred sepoys. The Government has again, as usual, set our own men against us. Time has to show whether the Deputy Collector will serve as a weapon of the Government, stoop to play its game and mercilessly shoot his own kith and kin. Some of my description of the area concerned may sound romantic, but I can only ask those who hesitate to believe to go there and satisfy themselves. We are really living in the age of romance without knowing it.